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ABSTRACT

The narrative selected for this unit on intolerance illustrates the perennial and universal methods for scapegoating. The general teaching objectives are to lead the students: 1) to feelings of tolerance toward individuals and groups who are different; 2) to investigate intolerance in terms of some of its causes: fear, deprivation, threatened self-interest, personal shortcomings; 3) to understand the nature of scapegoating; 4) to empathize with the victims of scapegoating; 5) to awareness of the practice of scapegoating in their own lives; 6) to appreciate the frustration and pain of being accused unjustly; 7) to appreciate the danger of governmental practices which allow for special repressive measures against certain groups or organizations deemed dangerous; and, 8) to develop skill in evaluating visual and written materials and to evaluate false and unjust accusations. The historical topics are: the Salem witchcraft trials with Biblical reference, and Senator Joseph McCarthy's accusations of Owen Lattimore, including the Red Scare of the early 1920's, the Cold War after 1945, and the Korean War. Audiovisual aids and supplementary reading materials are suggested for the purposes. Discussion questions to encourage inquiry, a vocabulary list, and a test are also included. SO 001 492 through SO 001 494 are related units. (Author/SBE)

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TEACHER'S GUIDE TO ACCOMPANY

STUDIES ON INTOLERANCE IN AMERICAN LIFE

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Program in American History and Civilization

Division of Secondary Social Studies

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I

General Teaching Objectives

1. To lead students to feelings of tolerance toward individuals and groups who are different.

2. To investigate intolerance in terms of some of its causes: fear, deprivation, threatened self-interest, personal shortcomings.

3. To understand the nature of scapegoating.

4. To lead students to an awareness of the practice of scapegoating in their own lives.

5. To help students to emphathize with the victims of scapegoating.

6. To appreciate the frustration and pain of being accused unjustly.

7. To appreciate the danger of governmental practices which allow for special repressive measures against certain groups or organizations deemed "dangerous."

8. To develop skill in evaluating visual and written materials and to evaluate false and unjust accusations.

II

Explanatory Notes On The Narratives For Students

The narratives selected for the theme of intolerance illustrate the perennial and universal methods of scapegoating. The student should identify the victim and his or her accuser in each narrative. Attention should be directed to the motives behind each scapegoating incident and to the justice or injustice of each accusation.

With the witchcraft narrative, students should try to pinpoint the real problems of the village. If students are not familiar with the Salem witchcraft trials, they will ask whether this really happened and whether these people were real. Therefore, it is necessary to explain briefly the impact and decline of theocracy in Puritan New England so that Reverend Parris' influence in the village will be clearly understood. The concept of theocracy may be presented by showing a filmstrip on Puritan life in New England.

Some preparation on the historical background of the Red Scare is also necessary. It is suggested that supplementary reading or visual aids materials on the early 1920's be given to students to point out (1) the Bolshevik Party take-over of Russia and (2) the United States' attitude toward immigration policy.

Many vocabulary words in the second narrative may be unfamiliar to the students, for example, radical, Communist, Red, anarchist, alien, and dago. Allow students to identify these words as used in the narrative as forms of name-calling before they are clearly defined. Students should be able to do this after discussing name-calling in the witchcraft narrative.

Before students begin to read the last narrative, they will need instruction on the events contributing to the Cold War after 1945 so that they may be aware of the crises which Americans faced prior to 1950. Current events filmstrips could be used here. They will also need to be cognizant of the Korean War crisis.

From Mr. Lattimore's story the student should realize that, as one of those first accused by Senator McCarthy, Mr. Lattimore was better equipped, better prepared, and more knowledgeable to defend himself than many others who were accused of disloyalty. Several individuals suffered irreparable damage to their careers.

Lattimore is an atypical victim: He was able to fight back and did.

From Mr. Lattimore's story the student should also realize that "witch-hunting" or hunting for Communists and spies often comes in the wake of a war and that it is supported by many people. They should discuss why this seems to be so.

It may be helpful at some point of discussion or by example to make a biblical reference to scapegoating; that is, to note that from the earliest times among all peoples, there is to be found the notion that guilt and suffering can be transferred to some other being or person. To the primitive mind this transferring of blame seems reasonable, for the primitive mind confuses the physical with the mental. For example, if a load of wood can be lifted from one man's back to another's, why not a load of guilt? The primitive mind concludes that the shift is not only possible but entirely natural.

In ancient times a living animal was often chosen as the victim. The most famous of these ceremonies was the ritual of the Hebrews, described in the Book of Leviticus. The sins of the people would be transferred symbolically to a live goat, which would be taken into the wilderness and set free. Today the transfer is usually from person to person. Students may feel that Rebecca and Raphael were scapegoats in the biblical sense.

Note: The narratives have been tested successfully with both eighth-and tenth-grade students.

III

The Nature And Methods Of Scapegoating

A. What Is Scapegoating?

Scapegoating occurs when some of the aggressive energies of a person or group are focused upon another individual or group. The amount of aggression or "blame" may in part be founded in fact. Scapegoating is full-fledged persecution, prejudice, and discrimination.

B. Attitudes Related to and Leading to Scapegoating

1. Predilection: This is a preference. You prefer one language to another; one food to another. This preference may lead to active biases and the inability to respect another's preference or "choice."

2. Prejudice: Here you become rigid. Your mind becomes closed. You will not listen to contrary argument. All things become stereotyped. When you express prejudice out loud, it may lead to discrimination.

3. Discrimination: Discrimination differs from scapegoating only in the amount of violence. Discrimination excludes people, ideas. It is not "we" who move, but "they" whom we exclude.

4. Scapegoating: The victim here is abused. He cannot fight back, because he is weaker than his attacker.

C. Motives of Scapegoating

1. Deprivation: Things which people have or want are taken away from them. The scapegoat is made to pay not only for recent things taken away from the accuser but also for frustrations of long standing. There is no direct

action which we can take, so we scapegoat institutions such as the government, the school, the church.

2. Guilt: Guilt feelings arise when we omit saying things or doing things. We may blame others for our own sins.

3. Fear and Anxiety: Fear is an actual feeling of danger. Fear may be reduced by attacking the one who threatens. Anxiety is anticipation of danger. Like fear, it represents feelings of insecurity.

4. Self-Enhancement: Feelings of inferiority may lead to scapegoating in order that the individual may convince himself of his own value. The individual who feels insecure may obtain comfort by belonging to the "in group." Very important as a social motive is the desire for power. No one dares to oppose when there is unity among the supporters.

D. The Victim: His Distinguishing Characteristics

1. He is easily identified.

2. He has little possibility for getting back at his accusers because of the following:

   a) The scapegoater is stronger than the victim by force of arms, numbers, or physical strength.

   b) The victim cannot answer back.

   c) Due to long browbeating, the victim accepts all accusations.

3. He usually has been a previous object of blame.

4. He personified an idea accepted by the entire group as one to be attacked.

E. Methods of Scapegoating

1. Phantasy: Scapegoating in thought often precedes action.

2. Verbal Aggression: Rumors of misdeeds, plots, jokes, unjust accusations, insinuation, name-calling.

3. Physical Action: Personal violence, torturing, lynching.

F. The Difference Between Heresy-Hunting and Scapegoating

1. Scapegoating: First, scapegoating is universal and is always present present in some form. Second, scapegoating is based upon the simplest form of delusion. Third, scapegoating is largely an individual phenomenon. Fourth, scapegoating can be stimulated by mild frustration.

2. Heresy-Hunting: Heresy-hunting or witch-hunting comes in the wake of stress and social disorganization, after wars, famines, plagues, disasters, or revolutions. Witch-hunting is a form of collective madness. Witch-hunting only appears in time of storm. The assumptions of the witch-hunters were as follows:

a) Witches will lie.

b) Witches get innocent people to do their bidding. One can be a witch without knowing it.

c) Witches were convicted on "spectral evidence"; today this may be interpreted as "guilt by association."

In what ways can these statements be used to apply to an Un-American Committee investigation rather than a witch trial? And how do you

account for the wise, honest, and intelligent man being taken in by such evidence?

IV

Teaching Strategies

A. PART I

1. The following may serve as discussion questions on the basic understanding of the narrative:

a) What kind of relationship existed between Tituba and the children? Did the children live in an adult society?

b) What were Reverend Parris' attitudes towards the townspeople?

c) Why was Tituba a "logical suspect"?

d) Was Rebecca a witch in the judge's eyes, the townspeople's eyes, your eyes?

e) What was the role of the onlookers at the examination? How did they react to the demonstrations by the children?

f) Did Rebecca doubt the reality of the children's suffering?

g) Were the statements of the accused misunderstood or misrepresented?

h) Did Judge Hawthorne try to have Rebecca contradict herself?

i) Were any of Rebecca's statements taken as a confession?

j) What evidence was entered as "fact"?

2. Discuss with students the motives of scapegoating suggested in the explanatory section on scapegoating. Define with them the terms deprivation, guilt, fear, and self-enhancement. Ask students to identify examples of these motives from the narrative.

Deprivation may be identified in the land boundary disputes and the preoccupation with acreage allotments. The first settlers resented the success of those newly arrived pioneers. Their children were the only means of passing on established land claims.

Guilt is suggested in the children's feelings about their mischief as well as the population's total guilt for turning away from the teachings of the church. Also Reverend Parris' feelings of persecution may be suggested.

Fear and anxiety are suggested by the loss of the charter, the decay of the theocracy, and the loss of control over the youth. Reverend Parris is insecure in his position. The children have no status.

Self-enhancement is suggested by the ambition of Reverend Parris and the sudden popularity of the "neglected" children.

3. Discuss the methods of choosing a victim suggested in the explanatory exercise on scapegoating. According to the narrative, how were the victims chosen? The following factors should be included in the discussion:

a) Rebecca was known in the village, was a church member, raised many children and was loved by all of them.

b) The children were in a stronger position because Reverend Parris chose to believe them.

c) Rebecca was too saintly to defend herself. She was also old.

d) Rebecca was an object of envy but not an object of blame before this.

e) Francis Nourse was blamed for not providing firewood. Francis conspired against Reverend Parris by not attending church.

f) Reverend Parris threatened excommunication in order to assert his authority.

g) Force of numbers is suggested by the evidence that Bridget Bishop was chosen because many disliked her activities.

h) Browbeating is suggested by the idea that Rebecca accepted the fact that she might be a witch. It should be noted that Rebecca was not protected against her accusers by the Fifth Amendment of the Constitution.

4. Ask the student to write an informal composition on what he feels were the imaginary and the real problems of the village. In discussing the student's composition, draw attention to the following sources of conflict:

a) war

b) taxation

c) land and population

d) lack of good leadership

5. Ask the student to write an informal composition in which he explains the following:

a) a personal encounter, either as initiator or victim, with scapegoating

OR

b) an observation of a group or institution in society today which is being used as a potential scapegoat. Only if it is necessary, suggest adverse opinions against church, school, police, or Supreme Court justices. This activity has value. It relates to the student's real world, although he will be reluctant to write about a personal experience. He may try to disguise an incident which happened to him. If this occurs, encourage students to write about an observation of scapegoating. Compare ideas.

6. If the topic of witchcraft is studied further, students may find interesting examples of scapegoating in two other members of the village, Bridget Bishop and Giles Cory. The death of Giles Cory points out the theme of deprivation.

B. PART II

1. The following may serve as discussion questions on the basic understanding of the narrative:

a) What was the relationship between the workers on the construction job and the boss?

b) What were the living conditions for the immigrants?

c) Did the immigrants have any knowledge of what radicalism meant?

d) Were the immigrants interested in joining a union? Was there a need for the social club?

e) Was Raphael's fear real?

f) Why didn't Joe ask for a lawyer?

g) What was the result of this arrest?

h) What class division was evident from the bomb list?

i) To what purpose were the radicals used?

j) Who and what groups were considered radical in addition to the Communists?

k) Do you think that there was real danger in the Red Scare? Were the raids useful?

2. From the narrative discuss how the immigrant became the scapegoat. Review the motives and methods of scapegoating. The following points should be brought out in the discussion:

a) Name-calling by the Federal agents, i.e., beatle brow, Red

b) Was it significant that the name-caller had one blue eye and one brown eye?

c) Name-calling by the spectators, i.e., murderers, bomb throwers

d) Unjust accusation of immigrants as Communists

e) Personal violence against the accused, i.e., detention without legal aid

f) Economic motivation of scapegoating, i.e., flooding the market with cheap immigrant labor

g) The fear generated by the bomb scare

h) Generalizations used as evidence, i.e., one Italian bomb thrower means all Italians conspire to throw bombs

3. The Immigration Act implied that there was guilt by association. With the class, construct a chart using any club, organization, etc., which attempts to analyze support in that organization. The question under consideration should be, "What constitutes support?" Some examples are as follows:

a) membership

b) knowledge of the aims and purposes

c) sympathy with and approval of the aims

d) support by purchasing the literature

e) contributions to the general fund

f) soliciting membership

g) attending a meeting

h) attending many meetings as a guest

4. Many institutions and organizations are charged with radicalism or disloyalty. Ask the students to identify the groups and organizations suggested by the following:

a) public school teachers' unions

b) student protest leaders

c) magazine publications

d) civil rights leaders

Then ask the students to give current examples of where charges of radicalism or disloyalty have been made against any of these groups or others mentioned.

5. The most relevant example, which combines the alien situation and the implications of anarchist associations, is the arrest and trial of Sacco and Vanzetti. This case usually interests students and is a subject of frequent comment. However, most of the documented accounts are difficult for the students to read. A visual presentation is suggested.

6. Know-nothingism in a historical sense has always been associated with the theme of intolerance in American civilization. Documented accounts of the burning of the Ursuline Convent in Charlestown and reports of

violence in the streets of major cities can be found in Allan Nevins' (editor) The Diary of Philip Howe (New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1927.)

7. Further comments on the sedition laws in the United States may involve students in the discussion of its terms in 1917. "It is a felony to say, or print disloyal or abusive or profane language about the government, the Constitution, soldiers, sailors, flag or uniform, or by word or act oppose the cause of the United States." Reference may be made to cases concerning immigrants prosecuted for having written anti-war propaganda or to the case of Eugene Debs for violating the sedition law.

C. PART III

1. The following may serve as discussion questions on the basic understanding of the narrative:

a) Who was Mr. Lattimore? (He was a citizen of the United States.) How was he different from Joe or Rebecca?

b) Why were Mr. Lattimore's activities under suspicion? What had he done?

c) What did Senator McCarthy imply when he asked Mr. Lattimore about his life and career?

d) What were the most difficult decisions Mrs. Lattimore made?

e) How accurate was Mr. Budenz's testimony?

f) In addition to being a spy, what other accusations did Senator McCarthy make against Mr. Lattimore?

g) How did Mr. Lattimore face the ordeal?

h) What were the methods used in the investigation?

i) How was Senator McCarthy's investigation stopped?

j) What did Senator McCarthy mean by "the little people loved the performance"?

k) What does Mr. Welsh mean when he says, "Let's not assassinate this lad?"

l) What had Senator McCarthy done wrong?

m) Which government departments and agencies did Senator McCarthy accuse of being under Communist influence? Was he "down on" any specific groups?

2. From the narrative discuss the differences between scapegoating and heresy-hunting as a public investigation. Review the motives and methods of scapegoating. The following points should come out in the discussion:

a) Was Senator McCarthy enjoying self-enhancement? He portrayed himself as the savior of his country and spoke of the "little people everywhere."

b) Was Senator McCarthy guilty of causing injury to innocent people?

c) McCarthy aimed at those who were born with "silver spoons in their mouths." Many of the men in the State Department were trained in Ivy League colleges.

d) How important was fear in McCarthy's success, that is, fear of losing the Cold War, of losing part of Korea, of supporting the wrong Chinese government?

e) How important was popular dissatisfaction with the Cold War?

f) Why was Mr. Lattimore chosen as the victim?

g) Lattimore indicated a preference for Communist China as the real government of China. How important was this preference?

h) McCarthy pointed out that Lattimore had been raised in China. What was he insinuating?

i) Why did the burden of proof to verify his innocence fall on Lattimore after the accusation was made?

3. Noted below are charges made against Senator McCarthy. Ask the students to list these charges against Senator McCarthy. Divide the class into four or five groups, and then ask each group to discuss one of the charges with a substitution of characters from a previous narrative. The completed statements can be changed to suit the situation.

a) Senator McCarthy "smeared innocent people."

b) Senator McCarthy exaggerated the evidence and made uncalled-for accusations.

c) Senator McCarthy publicized charges which should have been kept secret.

d) Senator McCarthy hid behind Congressional immunity, giving his victim no legal comeback.

e) Senator McCarthy called all of his critics Communists in an effort to discredit them.

4. Ask the students to compare the mischief of the afflicted children with the resulting mischief of the McCarthy investigations (Narratives I and III). It should be suggested that as the children became successful in gaining notice, they aimed higher and higher for the victims (Tituba to Rebecca). As Senator McCarthy was discredited, he tended to shift his charges downward by altering his words.

5. Ask the students to rank the following words in order from the most severe charge to the least severe charge:

a) Communist

b) alleged pro-Communist

c) card-carrying Communist

d) bad security risk

e) traitor

f) suspicious

g) bad for America

h) good for Russia

How would Senator McCarthy have ranked them? Do you agree?

6. Mr. Lattimore said, "Friends are afraid to stand up for you." Recall such a situation from your own experience.

7. Film, "Charge and Countercharge"

This film was produced and directed by Emile DeAntonio. It is a film of the era of Senator McCarthy, which uses the original footage from the Army-McCarthy hearings and places these events in their proper historical setting. The film time is 42 minutes, and it is distributed through the Appleton-Century-Crofts Film Library. The film contains Mr. Lattimore's statement before the hearings, President Truman's statement condemning Senator McCarthy, scenes from the 1952 presidential campaign, the "cropped photograph" episode with Secretary

of the Army Stevens and Private Schine, and Senator Symington's confrontation with Senator McCarthy.

8. Exercise Work Sheet for "Charge and Countercharge"

Prepare for the students a work sheet which defines the words which characterize the methods used in the process of accusation. The following will illustrate:

a) The multiple untruth is a half-truth and a truth.

b) The abuse of documents is to take phrases out of context.

c) Insinuation is giving unfavorable qualities to another man.

d) Slander is attacking by not making distinctions.

e) Intimidation is to threaten an opponent's security.

f) The charge of treason means giving aid to the enemy.

g) Contempt for the law means that self-interest can justify evasion of the law.

h) The bluff is a threat followed by silence.

Ask the students to pick out examples of the above techniques while they view "Charge and Countercharge."

9. Ask the students to look up the Fifth Amendment. The problem suggested by a consideration of the Fifth Amendment is whether there reall is protection involved with its use, since the witness has the choice between a verbal confession and a silent confession. Does the witness become an informer? Does the witness "come clean" when he decides

not to use the protection of the Fifth Amendment? Draw on examples from other narratives. A current discussion of the use of the Fifth Amendment may include the anti-draft demonstrations.

10. As a cooperative project, ask the students to make a collection of "hate" literature circulated by any group whose target is to scapegoat another group.

V

Vocabulary

A. PART I

wizard

persecuted

excommunicate

goody

B. PART II

dago

dumbbell tenements

Communist

Red

sedition

alien

radical

anarchist

naturalized citizen

C. PART III

Nationalist China

Communist

perjury

Communist infiltration

C. PART III (Continued)

traitor

character assassination

loyalty oath

Fifth Amendment

Communist cell

McCarthyism (See Webster's Dictionary, 1961)

VI

Test on Intolerance

A. Attitude Questions or True/False Statements (Content)

Objective: To stimulate discussion

Do you agree or disagree with the following statements? Write the word agree or disagree, and then explain briefly your answer.

1. One can be a witch or spy without knowing it.
2. The "witch-hunts" were brought on because of war and crisis.
3. A victim is chosen as a scapegoat because he cannot fight back.
4. The farmer's cow died the day after Rebecca walked through the meadow. This proves that Rebecca killed the cow.
5. Aliens cannot be trusted.
6. Raphael jumped to his death because he was a Communist.
7. Calling people names may indicate fear or guilt on the part of the name-caller.
8. Many people supported Senator McCarthy because they believed in him and his cause.
9. If a witness claims the protection of the Fifth Amendment, he is hiding his real identity.
10. Character assassination is all right when you are naming Communists.
11. The Salem witches were a few ignorant, neurotic women.
12. Radicals should not have the same rights as other people.

13. Mr. Lattimore used name-calling to defend himself.

14. You feel less guilty when you scapegoat in a group rather than by yourself.

B. Situations

1. There is a student in your school whom you pick on, and so does almost everyone in your group. You notice that some of the teachers do it too. Why do you behave this way? How do you explain the behavior of others?

2. During many months of World War II, Japanese-Americans were held in internment camps. How do you justify this kind of action on the part of the government?

3. During the Democratic Convention of 1968, many radical student demonstrators were arrested. If you were part of the crowd as an onlooker, how would you have acted toward these student demonstrators? Toward the arresting policemen?

4. You meet someone at a party who is wearing a medallion with the sign of the broken cross on it. You know that this is usually the insignia of the peace movement. How do you react toward this person?

C. Content

1. Compare in the three narratives the choice of victim, the results of scapegoating for the victim, and the motives of the accuser.

2. Write a contemporary commentary on a person or institution or group being scapegoated.

VII

Resources

1. Optional related readings:

a) Shirley Jackson, The Lottery. New York: Farrar, Strauss & Cudahy, Inc., 1949.

b) William G. Golding, Lord of the Flies, Chapters 9 and 10. New York: Coward-McCann, Inc., 1962.

c) Nathaniel Hawthorne, "Young Goodman Brown." In Nathaniel Hawthorne, Complete Short Stories of Nathaniel Hawthorne. New York: Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1959.

"Young Goodman Brown" can also be found in the following works:

Robert G. Davis, ed., Ten Modern Masters. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1959.

Caroline Gordon and Allen Tate, eds., House of Fiction. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1960.

d) Arthur Miller, The Crucible. New York: Viking Press, 1955.

Mr. Miller has increased the ages of the children, but the background of the delusion is accurate. His central characterization is John Proctor, who seemed to be the most outspoken against the motives of the children.

e) Two anthologized short stories based on the theme of prejudice are:

John Barryman, "The Imaginary Jew." In O. Henry Memorial Award Prize Stories of 1946.

Ralph Ellison, "Battle Royal." In Herbert Gold and David L. Stephenson, eds. Stories of Modern America. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1961.

2. Photostat copies of the original examinations and trials which had not been damaged are available from The Essex Institute in Salem, Massachusetts, or from the Salem County Court.

3. Woodcuts and prints from original texts

4. Films

a) "Salem Witch Trials," 1957 ("You Are There" series), 30 minutes

This film is a reconstruction of two witch trials. It can be obtained from the McGraw-Hill Book Company, Text-Film Division, 330 West 42d Street, New York, New York 10036.

b) "Point of Order," 1964, 97 minutes

This film is based on the televised Army-McCarthy hearings from April to June, 1954. It is available from Sterling Educational Films, 241 E. 34th Street, New York, New York 10016.

c) "The Golden Door," 1963, 30 minutes

This film analyzes the nature and causes of anti-alien feeling in the United States, which led to the restriction of immigration. It is available from Encyclopedia Britannica Educational Corporation, 425 North Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60611.

d) "Uprooted and the Alien-American," 1963, 30 minutes

This film discusses the difficulty of resolving conflicts between cultural origins and Anglo-Puritan norms. It is available from Encyclopedia Britannica Educational Corporation, 425 North Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60611.

5. A record by the Discuriosities entitled "The Investigator" takes Senator McCarthy to the gates of Saint Peter, where he conducts an investigation.

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STUDIES ON INTOLERANCE IN AMERICAN LIFE

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Program in American History and Civilization
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INTOLERANCE IN AMERICAN LIFE: PART I

On July 19th, five women were placed in a cart, chained, and ridden through the streets of Salem to Gallows Hill. The sheriff had not chosen the most convenient spot for the hangings, but he had chosen a conspicuous one. The hangings were to set a moral example for all the people as they watched from far and near.

The cart stuck in the road as it was pulled up the hill. The accusers of the five women claimed the Devil held it back. The five condemned women, among them Rebecca Nourse, looked out at the fog-bound waters for the last time.

Reverend Samuel Parris made one last appeal to have them confess to save themselves. Many victims had confessed. "You know you're guilty," he said.

"You lie," one of them said boldly. "I'm no more a witch than you are a wizard!"

Mr. Parris looked toward Rebecca. She turned her white-haired head away. She would not confess.

Then it was over.

"What a sad thing to see five agents of hell hanging here," the minister said, looking up at the oak tree. The spectators looked up and nodded silently. They also looked into the hardened faces of the children. They all had prayers on their lips.

In the evening, Rebecca Nourse's kin stole back to the hill to get their mother's body from the shallow grave. They buried her in an unmarked grave on the farm. "She is one foot in heaven now," they thought as they prayed.

They would never feel forgiveness for the Reverend Mr. Parris's uncharitable attitude, because he had believed the words of the unwholesome children over the words of their kind mother. And within a short time the townspeople turned against the minister. They dismissed him from their parish.

"You had no pity in your heart," said the Nourse sons. "You could have saved our mother, and you didn't. We don't feel we can save you."

The hysteria had struck Salem Village in the previous fall.

The Orchard Farm, with its spacious, well-kept, Townsend-Bishop house where the Nourse family had lived for the past 20 years, was a quarter of a mile from the Parris house. Francis Nourse and his four sons had cleared meadows and raised barns; these 300 acres were the envy of all. But as the forty-year-old minister rode past the grove which bordered the property, he had decided to exert his authority. "I'll bring this community to heel. Some haven't been attending meeting."

Mr. Parris found Rebecca in the kitchen, dipping candles, while rocking her infant grandson in his cradle. Daughter Sarah was preparing bread dough.

"Good morning, Goody Nourse. How are you here?"

"We're fine. Sit down, sir." She offered him a place on the settle near the fire. He stretched out his hands toward the warmth.

Just then Francis Nourse came in from the fields. They exchanged stiff greetings. Mr. Parris knew, as he would want to know everything, that Francis had gone in the morning to settle a boundary dispute, as he was often called upon to do. One family was suing another.

The minister came to the point of the visit quickly. "The harvest has long been in. Where's my firewood? Am I to show my frost-bitten hands like a beggar? I'm not used to his poverty." In the three years he had been in Salem Village, he had made it known that he had gone to Harvard College and he had given up a good business in Barbados to minister to these farmers.

Rebecca replied, "You're allowed six pound a year to buy your wood, Reverend Parris."

"I regard that as part of my salary. I am paid little enough without spending six on firewood."

"Sixty for salary plus six for firewood," Francis was stubbornly sticking to the contract.

"Goodman Nourse, where could you find such a learned man for sixty pound a year? Why am I persecuted here? I can't offer one suggestion but there's argument. I can't understand you people." Parris's voice rose to a high whine.

Rebecca offered him some mint tea. She tried to explain: "Mr. Parris, you're the first minister ever wanted a deed to the parsonage."

"Don't a minister deserve a house to live in, woman?"

"Yes, but not to own the parsonage. The pasture lands are yours," she replied.

"I need the distinction. And a minister is not to be so lightly crossed!"

From Francis, "Aye! And what does that mean?"

"There's obedience to the church, or you'll burn in hell," Parris threatened.

"I'm sick of hell! Don't speak of hell to me!" Francis shouted.

"Hear this, Mister," he emphasized the mister, "it's not for you to decide what's good for you! Often I've seen Rebecca in meeting, cupping her hand to hear the word of God. But you," he pointed to Francis, "you and your followers don't come. I'm not blind to this faction which you lead."

"Followers?"

"Those who don't care for my authority. The ones who while away their time playing shovelboard at Bridget Bishop's tavern."

The infant had awakened with all the noise.

Rebecca pleaded with Francis: "You don't mean harm. Shake hands and make your peace with Reverend Parris."

"I have work to do," he said. "The timber must be cut, and I have none to spare!" He went out angrily.

"One of these days, Rebecca, I'll publicly excommunicate him." Mr. Parris did not take his arguments lightly.

He went directly home because he had left without assigning chores to his daughter, Betty, and his niece, Abigail.

"Shut up, Betty," Abigail warned her cousin. "Don't you tell. I won't let you."

"But, Abigail, rye meal mixed with urine and then baked in ashes --"

"It was fed to the dog. Nothing happened," interrupted Ann. "You drank blood. That's worse."

"I'll tell! I'm sorry I did it. I'll confess. Oh, Lord help me!" Betty sobbed looking to heaven. "I'm damned forever."

"If you do, I'll put a hot tong down your throat," Abigail warned, glancing at the crackling fireplace in the large kitchen where they sat in a circle on the floor. "Besides, you weren't so sick nor so afraid last Sunday in church when you screamed and stamped your feet when holy words were spoken. And by your own father! My, everyone stared at you!" She seem delighted.

"Sshhh -- Here comes Tituba." The slave in the Parris household entered; she was carrying bunches of goldenrod and sage.

"My hands, my back. This cold. My work is so heavy," she complained. Her dark face, half Carib, half Negro, brightened into a smile as she leaned over to stroke Betty's long flaxen hair -- her favorite Betty, the youngest of the group.

And how are my children today?" She cackled and poked at the fire. She smell of cinnamon and cooking apples spread through the kitchen.

"Tituba, dear Tituba, let's begin playing witchcraft," the girls pleaded. "The afternoon has been so dreary without you. The others aren't coming."

"Them servant girls have no time. I know." Tituba began, "Ann Putnam, what animals can we use?"

"Dogs, cats, and toads!"

"Abigail Williams, what other animal?"

"Birds!" Abigail replied enthusiastically. "Yellow birds, little yellow birds! That can be sucked on!"

"Betty Parris, what others?" Tituba was grinning.

"Flies and spiders," Betty whispered, "which leave a little black mark."

Tituba plucked a long stick from the mantle and drew imaginary voodoo signs on the floor where the girls sat. Reverend Mr. Parris had thrashed Tituba many times for "entertaining" the children and neglecting her chores.

When Mr. Parris entered his kitchen, on returning from the Nourses', he found Betty upright, her eyes fixed in a deathlike stare, her jaws locked, her body stiff. And Abigail was down on all fours barking and running about the furniture. Betty fell into convulsions.

True to her kind nature, Rebecca Nourse was the first to come to offer help when she learned what had happened to the children. She had suggested immediately that the girl would come out of it.

"I've twenty-six grandchildren, and I've seen them through all their silly problems and illnesses. They can run one ragged with their mischief pretending -- always pretending."

"This is not a silly problem. She's been this way for hours." Reverend Mr. Parris never understood the ways of children, although Betty was no child, being nearly fifteen.

"Be calm. Betty will wake when she's hungry."

Betty moaned as if on cue.

"She suffers," Parris said. He begged, "Dear child, don't die."

Another day passed. Rumor had it that strange things were happening in the Parris household. People from the village dropped by to ask about Betty. Rebecca came also to sit and sympathize.

"What does the doctor say?" she asked.

"He can find no physical ailment."

"And he gives no medicine?" someone asked.

"There's no medicine for unnatural causes. I believe the Devil is at work here and has been spreading evil in this village for a long time. And now he's corrupted my own house."

"Don't say that, Uncle!" Abigail cried self-protectively. "Betty's not witched! I swear!"

"What gibberish is this? Do you realize my position, child? Is this all done in sport?" he demanded.

"No, not for sport," Abigail said shaking.

"Then why does Betty suffer? Why? Speak!" He was red with rage.

"Because they torture us when we don't do what they want us to do." She lowered her eyes.

"They? Who are <u>they?</u>"

"The witches who do the Devil's work." Her voice quavered. "Tituba does the Devil's work." Tituba was a logical suspect. Recalling her uncle's argument with Francis Nourse, she pointed to frail Rebecca, slumped in a chair by the bed, leaning on her walking stick.

"And Goody Nourse is one! Goody, Goody, Goody Nourse. She hates me, Uncle. She hates me because I'm tempted by sin, because I'm not as perfect as she pretends to be!" She sobbed.

"Sit down, child," Rebecca said. "Surely you're mistaken. You're upset."

"I swear, Uncle. She's asked me many times to set fire to haystacks and barns of the other village people. These are the things she'd have me do when I go to work on the farm. And when I've refused to do her bidding, her shape chokes me in my sleep the way it does to Betty now!"

Betty sat bolt upright in bed.

Rebecca Nourse was charged with witchcraft, and her examination was set at the end of March, 1692. Further catastrophe had struck the village. The charter for the colony had not been renewed. The Indian uprisings had begun again.

All the townspeople crowded into the meetinghouse early to be sure of their seats. The accusers sat near the front: Abigail Williams, Ann Putnam, Mrs. Putnam, and the minister sat with them.

Judge Hathorne conducted the examination. He turned toward Abigail. He asked, "Have you seen this woman hurt you?"

"Yes, she beat me this morning," said Abigail. Ann Putnam cried out, "She hurts me."

"Rebecca," Judge Hathorne said, "everyone here prays that you're innocent.

But there are many who complain that they have been seized with fits when you come into the house."

"No, I never hurt no child. Never in my life. I have been unable to get out of doors for several days."

Then Mrs. Putnam cried out in the meetinghouse, "Didn't you bring the Blackman with you? Hadn't your Spirit fell on my seven infant children and tortured them to death?"

"Oh, Lord help me!" said Rebecca. And she spread out her hands to heaven. The children fell in a fit. Then Rebecca, weary from the questions, held her head to one side. Ann did the same as if her neck were broken. Whatever moves Rebecca made, the children made also.

She wanted to cry out that they were not pleased with her husband's boundary settlements, but she did not.

"Don't you see what happens when your hands are loose? And you sit there with dry eyes and these are wet. Confess. Are you familiar with the spirits?"

Judge Hathorne changed his approach with Rebecca. "Do you think the children suffer voluntarily or involuntarily?"

"I can't tell," she answered.

"That's strange. Everyone else can. If you think they suffer by design, on purpose, then you accuse the children of being murderers."

"I can't tell what to think. I don't think they suffer by their own hands."

Rebecca should have said, as one other accused had said, that they do injury to themselves. They prick and scratch themselves deliberately. It is all a performance.

The children were seized with fits of torture. They groaned and doubled over. She wanted to say to the judge, "How is it you don't fall down in a fit when I look at you?" Her gentleness prevented her.

"Do you believe these persons are bewitched?" the judge continued.

"I believe they are," she nodded. She held her head on one side while more statements accusing her were read into the testimony. One statement came from Reverend Mr. Parris.

"Now, what do you think of these who accuse you?" Judge Hathorne asked.

"Would you have me betray myself? Testify against myself?" Then Rebecca conceded wearily, "I don't know. I can't help it. It is possible. The Devil may appear in my shape." But she dismissed the thought as too clever.

And she wondered why the Devil had become a reformer and was exposing his witches to the judges.

Toward noon, the judge ordered her led away, for the meetinghouse was going to be used in the afternoon.

A few days before execution, Rebecca, unable to walk, was carried in a chair to the meetinghouse. The sentence was read before everyone. Rebecca alone heard nothing. Silent men carried her back to prison.

INTOLERANCE IN AMERICAN LIFE: PART II

December whirled stinging snow against the brick walls and up the bare girders. Joe Sandino, the foreman, swung his arms about and urged the workmen on.

Old Nick stood up from behind the brick pile and wrung out his walrus moustache with his hand. "Master Joe, the devil himself could not break his tail any harder than we here." He opened the chute door of the concrete hopper.

A great din of hammering shattered the air. "Yes, the day is cold," Joe thought, "but who am I to complain when Christ was born? Ah, the holiday will be here soon, and I'll put this job out of my mind. I keep thinking the underpinnings should be doubled; but the boss keeps the inspector drunk."

From eight floors below, the boss called, "Hey, Joe! Is your gang of dagos dead?"

Joe cautioned the men: "On your toes, boys. If he writes out slips, someone won't have eel on the Christmas table."

The scaffoldmen worked on.

The boss bore down on Joe: "Listen, you, get the men to stop draggin' their tails. There're plenty of barefoot men in the streets who'll jump for a day's pay!"

"Yes," Joe said.

The day, like all days, ended. The bruised bodies sighed and the numb legs shuffled toward the dumbbell tenements along the East River shipyards.

Joe and Old Nick lived with their families at #36 Acorn Street, one of the better barrack buildings. The two-room apartments had no plumbing, but new privies, which were flushed by the river, had been installed in the basement.

"How's Maria?" Old Nick sniffled.

"Perfecto. The little chick is due within the month. And then we move to a newly finished three-room flat," Joe answered proudly.

"That's good, Joe. You're growing. You'll get ahead. Not like the rest of us." Old Nick pulled up his nose. "Is Raphael bringing the 'labor man' to the Club to speak to us?"

"Yes."

It had stopped snowing. They turned onto the open square leading to the neighborhood. A group had formed about a police car.

"What's going on?" Joe asked.

"They expect a Communist party parade -- or something like it," someone volunteered. "They don't want no more troubles."

They watched the policeman mount a Winchester riot gun on the top of the car.

Joe felt his numb legs twitch under his weight. In November, his friend, Akim, had been seized by the police at a Russian Workers meeting; the outcome had been uncertain. Temporarily the joyous scenes of the holiday were shut out as Joe recalled the news events of the last months which he had read aloud to Maria.

A. Mitchell Palmer, the Attorney General of the United States, was awakened by the sound of sirens. The front of his Washington house was on fire. A bomb had exploded near his door; the limbs of a man blown to pieces were found outside. The newspapers identified the bomb-thrower as an Italian worker from Philadelphia.

There was a long bomb honor list: besides the Attorney General, bombs were addressed to the Commissioner of Immigration on Ellis Island; the chairman of the Senate Bolshevik Investigating Committee; the Secretary of Labor; John D. Rockefeller; J. P. Morgan; and others.

Some on the honor list had not been as lucky as Palmer in escaping injury, even though the Postmaster General had alerted his men to be on the lookout for packages in a brown wrapping about seven inches long and three inches wide, carrying a Gimbel Brothers return address and marked "Novelty -- a Sample". Some of the bombs, made of a wooden tube filled with an acid detonator and explosive, were mailed and had gone off in the hands of the receivers. Others had been set aside in the post office for insufficient postage.

The Attorney General and the director of the newly formed Intelligence Division, J. Edgar Hoover, planned to put an end to this bomb scare.

New Year's Day, 1920, was filled with happiness and prosperity for Joe. In the evening of the next day, he passed out cigars to the members of the Club.

"It's a boy!" Each nodded as he lit up. The speech was over. Everyone

commented on the fine ideas of the labor man, and the ideas were explained to those who could not understand English well.

"Unite, yes. Join together for better working conditions," Old Nick was pleased. "A man's pay for a man's work, and no boss on your tail."

Suddenly, the conversation was interrupted by the crash of broken glass. A man who had crawled onto the ledge of the shed roof hurled himself onto the floor, a pistol in his hand. Another coming through the door and drawing a pistol nearly tripped himself.

"We're Federal agents. We've had an eye on the place, and you're all under arrest! Hand over your weapons!"

"Weapons? We have no weapons," Joe replied, unbelieving.

"Then line up facing against this wall; hands over your head," a plainclothesman barked, while he searched the men's pockets for membership cards. Joe noticed that he had one blue eye and one brown eye.

"Cards?" Old Nick moved too slowly.

"Look, beetle brow, no stupid questions. Communist membership cards." The agent struck out. Old Nick had a gash on his forehead. The blood oozed and trickled down over his moustache.

The men watched quietly as one plainclothesman ransacked the closet of the Club room and found only broken crockery and odds and ends of pickling utensils.

"Where are your books and records?" he asked.

"There are none. We're just a social Club. We just work together." Joe became the spokesman for them all.

"You pay rent on this joint, don't you?"

"We share expenses. A warehouse shed isn't much."

The man was satisfied. Next he took down from a shelf a few old almanacs. From the wall he took down an old World War I poster, "Join Now," with a picture of General Pershing. These he packaged and marked. He then tapped all the partition walls; each resounded solidly.

The actions of the man made young Raphael very nervous. From the street a car backfired; he made a feeble attempt to make a run for it. He was shaking from fear as he shook his head back and forth, "I'm no Communist; I'm no Communist."

"The Attorney General says you are! Anyway, you're an alien, aren't you" You're a radical. I've seen this man before." He was pointing to the labor man speaker. "He's a member of the International Workers of the World. That means he's a Red. A radical! He's been in jail for demonstrating against the war. He prefers the Russian revolution."

Young Raphael insisted, "No radical; no radical."

The agent searched the labor man who complained, "Leave me alone. You don't even have a search warrant." The agent did not bother to reply that he dind't need one. He had found the evidence he was looking for. "Ah, these are seditious pamphlets written against America."

Joe asked why the rest of them were being arrested because the labor man had pamphlets on him.

"Suspicious characters." He ordered the aliens down the stairs.

There had been more than 400 arrests in New York that same evening. Joe, Old Nick, and the others were taken to the police station and held there for three days. Joe was frantic with worry about Maria, who had not known what happened to him. In jail, he heard that while Maria was safe, the Federal agents had broken into homes looking for literature, terrorizing families in the neighborhood, leaving children alone while mothers were interrogated. During these days, no one was given a hearing nor asked any questions.

After three days, Joe, Old Nick, and the others were chained together and taken from the jail. Three days' beard the dirty appearances prompted the sidewalk spectators to cry: "Anarchists! Murderers! Bomb throwers!" Newsmen photographed them. And later, at the wharf on the way to Ellis Island, they were again taunted, "Anarchists! Murderers!"

Many remembered the days spent at Ellis Island, not so long before being processed, deloused, and registered from entry to America!

No adequate preparation had been made for the numbers being kept there. Steam pipes had been disconnected; the weather turned bitter cold.

Soon after, Raphael's leg became infected. He asked the guards to let him have a doctor. They took him into the cellar of the jail where there were

a cement floor and an iron door. Unlike the rooms above, the floor of this room was hot, at times so hot that he was forced to remove his clothing except his underwear. There was no sanitary facility except for an iron pail. Raphael stayed here, as an object lesson, for 24 hours. He had one glass of water and one slice of bread. He became unconscious from the pain in his leg.

Then Joe received the bad news. "Raphael smashed his brains on the pavement -- five stories down," Old Nick said. "He was afraid, after the punishment, they'd send him back with the others."

Old Nick and Joe had a hearing before the Labor Department officials. Since they were both naturalized citizens and not aliens, they had never feared deportation. But March winds whistled against the brick walls on the Ellis Island buildings before they were released. Finally, an interested attorney, working on behalf of immigrant organizations, got a reduction of their excessive bail from $10,000 to $1,000 and saw to the putting up of bail. At the time of his arrest, Joe was earning an average of $30.00 per week, including bonus and overtime.

Old Nick and Joe found the girders and bricks walls almost as they had left them. There had been a bad cave-in on one of the sections. Old Nick noticed the unfamiliar scaffoldmen. His walrus moustache had turned a bit gray.

"Hey," Joe yelled up. "Padrone McClure! You want we should begin work?"

"No! Get lost, you Red! We don't want the likes of you around!"

INTOLERANCE IN AMERICAN LIFE: PART III

A short, mild-looking man with a scraggly, sandy moustache settled down to the microphones at a T-shaped table in the Caucus Room of the Senate Office Building. He was Owen Lattimore, who had just returned by plane to Washington from a special United Nations mission in Afghanistan. He adjusted his papers in front of him and then fixed a cold eye on his accuser, a heavy-set man who avoided Lattimore's stare.

His accuser, Senator Joseph McCarthy, sat opposite him a little behind the chairman of the investigating committee. Senator McCarthy claimed that Owen Lattimore was the top Russian espionage agent in the United States. The Senator had also claimed that his entire case against Communist infiltration of the State Department rested on proving Owen Lattimore a spy.

Mr. Lattimore was sworn in and was allowed to read his statement: "McCarthy's charges are untrue; they are base and contemptible lies. I have spent my life in the study of Far East problems. The Senator seems to feel that everyone is disloyal whose opinions don't agree with those of himself with respect to total commitment of the United States to the Nationalist Government of China.

"When Senator McCarthy first made his sensational charges, in which he said there are 57 Communists in the State Department and 205 bad security risks, he apparently didn't have me in mind. The top espionage agent was

rather a late thought. I was quickly demoted from the position of big fish to small fry."

While he read his statement, the only interruption was the flare of newsreel lights and the flash of press cameras. Mr. Lattimore then dealt with each of the charges. "I am not an employee of the State Department. Mr. McCarthy's charge that I was a Russian spy was based on a trip that I made to Alaska carrying, he said, two cameras.

"I went to Alaska as a representative of Johns Hopkins University to attend a meeting of the Arctic Research Laboratory, whose work is unclassified. I carried one camera and took pictures of Eskimo children and dog sleds." He handed over the Kodachrome slides.

The spectators laughed.

Mr. Lattimore submitted written evidence to prove that he was not responsible for student uprisings in China, and that whomever he wrote to in Asia was someone who could supply him with information he needed. He submitted proof that the Communists didn't like the books he had written about China and that the State Department had rarely asked for or followed his advice.

After four hours, he sat back in his chair exhausted. The spectators applauded, but the accuser had left the room long before the end of the statement and didn't return after the recess.

Senator Hickenlooper, a Republican who agreed with Senator McCarthy and who wanted to continue the hearings, slowly developed a new line of questioning.

"Do you believe the Chinese Communist leaders are Moscow-trained?"

"The success of Communism in China was not due to the skill of Communists, but due to the mistakes of those who held power previously," Lattimore replied.

Hickenlooper plodded ahead with his gumshoe-and-magnifying-glass inquiry:

"You believe that the United States should get out of Formosa." He knew Russian propaganda was aimed in this direction.

"Yes, there is danger that we may damage our position in more important countries of Asia by trying to support Chiang Kai-shek and to hold onto Formosa." Lattimore claimed the United States had supported the Chinese nation, not one party or man.

After a couple of hours, the steam had gone out of Senator Hickenlooper, but he pursued the questions.

"How much of your life was spent under local American conditions; let us say, up to the age of 21?"

Somewhat astounded, Mr. Lattimore answered, "I was born in Washington and taken to China as a baby less than a year old. I didn't return to America until I was 28."

Hickenlooper's implication was obvious. "In your writings concerning the Chinese, has your thought been what is best for the Chinese people or best for the United States, if you can distinguish between the two?"

"Many people who've lived for a long time in some country tend to assume they have the right to tell them /the people in that country/ what is good, but I haven't done that." Mr. Lattimore didn't regard himself as disloyal to American aims.

"Perhaps a defect in your writing has been what you didn't say. I'm wondering --"

"Guilty by what I left out," Lattimore volunteered.

There was laughter again.

The klieg lights went off. Mr. Lattimore's face was sun-tanned. His wife and son came up to him, smiling. The press took pictures. Their lawyer, Mr. Abe Fortas, felt that the first hearing was a victory for them.

Before the recess, Senator McCarthy returned to his office to plan strategy with his 13 staff members. He was not discouraged at all by the outcome of the first round. The pollsters claimed his influence was increasing. His crusade had made many people scout out Communism to such an extent that someone had banned selling penny candy with Russian geography lessons attached to the wrappers.

Senator McCarthy possessed a sure instinct for the dramatic and planned to charge Mr. Lattimore with being "a Soviet agent and the architect of Far East policy." From his foxhold of immunity (as a member of Congress acting officially, he could not be sued), he could beat the bushes for more charges and hope the proof would turn up sometime.

Before Mr. Lattimore arrived from Afghanistan, Mrs. Lattimore had arranged to move from Baltimore to a relative's apartment in Washington. She quickly packed all the things they would need: files, books, magazines, and newspaper articles. She left them with the lawyer. She asked friends to read the books and copy out passages illustrating her husband's loyalty. She spent time finding people who knew her husband and could testify for him. News commentators called her and volunteered help, for they reported on the good American principle that a man was innocent until proven guilty. Their son stopped school to be with his parents and act as message carrier. All normal family routine ended.

Mrs. Lattimore did some necessary homework, too. She learned that her husband's accuser had been charged with income-tax evasion, in his capacity as lawyer, had been granting two-day divorces to accommodate people who had helped his campaign, and the year before had helped to save from execution SS men convicted of killing 350 unarmed American prisoners of war and 100 Belgian civilians. But this information was not used by the Lattimores against McCarthy. Some questions also had been raised concerning his record while in the service.

Perhaps the most difficult question to answer was whether there was anything out of the ordinary in her husband's past. She knew there was nothing.

The ordeal for the Lattimore family continued. Only occasionally was Mr. Lattimore gratified that a cabman or elevator operator recognized him and said, "I saw you in the newsreel. Keep up the nice job." The time consumed in

disproving one small lie was a loss never to be regained. For example, the Lattimores had helped two Mongolian princes to escape from Communist Mongolia. One was a "Living Buddha" of the Buddhist church. The princes were accused by McCarthy of being spies when in truth the Russian government had a price on their heads and they could never return to Mongolia.

For another example, Mr. Lattimore had attended a Writers Conference in Los Angeles years before the hearings. He had never heard of the conference before he was invited to attend, but he went he said, "out of a sense of duty." Years after he had attended the conference, it was listed by the Attorney General as a subversive organization; and Senator McCarthy insinuated that Mr. Lattimore's connection with it was subversive. It took a lot of time and money to straighten out the details. When the record finally was straightened out, the fact was not mentioned anywhere to show that Mr. Lattimore had proved the charge false. It wasn't important enough to be news. The truth was dull in comparison with the sensational accusation.

His own hometown paper, the Baltimore Sun, had a split personality. From day to day, its attitudes differed: first there would be a cartoon of McCarthy, then one of Lattimore. The Sun was typical of many newspapers, which failed to take a stand on the issues involved.

Then the Lattimores met the next crisis in their struggle for personal freedom. Their lawyer said: "Senator McCarthy intends to call upon several ex-Communists to testify against you. I must warn you that you face danger.

You can expose yourself by meeting these testimonies head on or by making a prepared statement. But I won't advise you one way or the other."

Louis Budenz, a professor at Fordham University, was an ex-Communist who testified at the April hearing. He had turned a sordid career into a financial success by writing and lecturing about his former life.

As Owen Lattimore and his wife took front-row seats in the hearing room, they noticed the aisles along the marble walls filled with spectators. Among the familiar faces were the anxious, pale faces of his family.

Senator McCarthy came in and sat down behind the committee table. He glowered at the flashbulbs, stuffed his hands in his pockets, and slumped in his chair.

"Owen Lattimore was a member of a Communist cell," Professor Budenz testified in a casual tone, glancing to right and left.

The three wire-service men jumped up and pushed their way to the door. A hum of excitement swept the crowded room.

"There was a conspiracy," Budenz continued, "designed to influence United States policy toward China. Mr. Lattimore was part of that conspiracy. Mr. Lattimore was to direct Communist writers to put over stories about the Chinese Communists."

"Have you met Mr. Lattimore?" the chairman asked.

"I don't know him. I have never met him," Budenz stated. "But I was advised to consider him a Communist when I was editor of the Daily Worker.

My Politburo instructions were issued on onionskin documents so secret that I was instructed not to burn them, but to tear them in small pieces and destroy them through the toilet. I was told XL was Mr. Lattimore."

"Do you know that Lattimore was a Communist?" the chairman asked.

Budenz replied, "Outside of what I was officially told by Communist leaders, I don't know."

"And what about Senator McCarthy's charge that Lattimore was 'the top Russian agent'?" the chairman asked.

"To my knowledge, that statement is not technically accurate," Budenz said.

"How do you account for Communist criticism of Lattimore's books?"

"It is policy not to praise them. In this way, he is shielded. Anything anti-Communist ought to be taken as proof of his being in fact a Communist."

Louis Budenz's testimony was based entirely on hearsay. It was undocumented, and with each question asked, he struck out on a new tack.

While Budenz testified, Senator McCarthy grinned, Mr. Lattimore scribbled notes where the testimony was incorrect. The witness had placed Lattimore in the wrong places at the wrong times.

Mr. Fortas fought to put defense witnesses on the stand, because the committeemen wanted to recess at this point. The press would have a field day. Lattimore was allowed his defense. At the end of the hearing, Owen Lattimore had not been proved a Communist, but he had not succeeded in proving he wasn't one.

Senator Joseph McCarthy, although silent within the hearings, rushed on to accuse Mr. Lattimore outside the hearing room. The Senator accused Mr. Lattimore of attempting to bribe witnesses or to have them commit perjury. Each new accusation meant another appearance before the loyalty committee. The battle, using ex-Communists, Senator McCarthy lost.

The Lattimore case just lost its sensationalism; it petered out. Owen Lattimore was fortunate that the slander against him didn't cause him to lose his teaching position. Nor did he lose his friends or the love of his family. The friends who pulled him through were his own kind of people, and he was glad that he worked in an academic community. Lattimore claimed: "If you yourself are ever smeared, don't count too much on your important friends. The more important a man is, the more he may be afraid of a smear. Friends may be frightened of being implicated, even though they believe you're innocent."

With the air so dense with suspicion and distrust for one another, his greatest fear was harming his old and trusted friends, especially those who worked for the government.

The family's lives, however, were in a mess. One month had been taken out of Lattimore's life. His lectures were cancelled; his writing assignments were dropped. Many colleges receiving state aid cancelled orders for his books.

Strange as it sounded, he had no pull with important people. His defense was the product of his inner strength. He was forced to drop work to defend himself, move his household, pay for lawyers, pay for cablegrams, telephone calls, transcripts, and travel for witnesses. His savings were gone.

Contrary to his promise, Senator McCarthy did not rest his other cases of Communist infiltration on the outcome of the Lattimore case. Indeed, he became bolder and more reckless. He called President Truman a traitor for not giving immediate aid to Korea. He called others in government traitors. And he was encouraged by Republican senators "to keep talking, and if one case doesn't work out, proceed with another."

Case after case of suspicion unfolded. By July, 1950, McCarthyism was synonymous with character assassination.

Soon everyone realized that indirectly millions of Americans had been affected by the investigations, especially employees of the government and of government contractors. Men had been called upon to vouch for the patriotism of their friends, and teachers were asked to sign loyalty oaths. Eventually, the hearings raised the larger issue of loyalty in a democracy.

Many witnesses who were called before McCarthy's subcommittee refused to answer questions about their Communist associations. They claimed the protection of the Fifth Amendment to the Constitution.

Some of the witnesses used the Fifth Amendment to protest the methods pursued by the investigator; others to protect themselves or their friends from prosecution, even though they felt they could prove their innocence. But in the eyes of many Americans, those who refused to answer the questions were "Fifth-Amendment Communists." Because they were silent, they were assumed to be guilty. The force of public opinion was against those who refused to answer.

In many states, a public employee would lose his job if he refused to testify.

The question was whether to testify or to remain silent. Some people felt that the cause of freedom is best served not by silence but by free speech. The difficulty with the idea of testifying freely was that it would require former Communists to answer questions about their friends, since they would already have waived the Fifth Amendment for themselves and "come clean."

For those who attached immediate guilt to the use of the Fifth Amendment, there was no protection, since the witness had the choice between a verbal confession and a silent confession. Generally, Congressional committees used witnesses as a means of getting information about other people and usually asked witnesses to supply them with names and addresses, which made the witness an "informer."

Finally Senator McCarthy was stopped. He attacked the Executive branch of government by attacking Army personnel. The Army-McCarthy hearings (as they were known) between April and June, 1954, became a TV spectacular.

At the beginning of the hearings, Senator McCarthy attacked a brigadier general for not giving certain information which his committee wanted: "You're shielding Communist conspirators. You're not fit to be an officer." The General had been under Executive Order not to give out the information McCarthy wanted. The insult to President Eisenhower was too much. As Commander-in-Chief, the President and the administration slowly moved against the Senator from Wisconsin.

The tables were turned. The Army charged that Senator McCarthy and Roy Cohn, a staff member of his subcommittee, had tried to get preferential or special treatment in the Army for a draftee, Private David Schine, a friend of McCarthy's. Senator McCarthy replied that the Army was trying to blackmail him into dropping an investigation into Communism at Fort Monmouth. He tried various stunts and interrupted the hearings with constant "points of order," for he was an expert parliamentarian. McCarthy proved little; nobody proved anything, in a legal sense, but the public had its first chance to watch the Senator in action. "The little people everywhere loved the performance," for McCarthy could smile and be charming.

In the Army's attorney, Mr. Joseph Welch, Senator McCarthy had found a skillful and witty opponent. During one hearing toward the end of the investigation, Mr. Welch cross-examined Roy Cohn on subversion at Fort Monmouth. McCarthy was obviously angered by Mr. Welch's success in making the issue of Communist spy infiltration a mockery.

In retaliation, Senator McCarthy accused Mr. Welch of protecting a Communist in his law firm: "I assume you did not know he, Fred Fisher, was a member of a Communist organization, because I get the impression that, while you are quite an actor, you play for a laugh, you have no conception of the danger of the Communist Party."

Mr. Welch's face was white. "Until this moment," he replied, "I think I never really gauged your cruelty or your recklessness." Mr. Welch explained

the circumstances of the young man's coming to work in the law office, saying that he asked him not to work on the Army case because he had belonged to the Lawyers Guild while in law school.

"So I asked him to go back to Boston. It is true that he is still with my firm. It is true that I fear he will always bear a scar needlessly inflicted by you. If it were in my power to forgive you for your reckless cruelty, I would do so. I like to think I'm a gentle man, but your forgiveness will have to come from someone other than me."

The Senate Caucus Room was hushed. Mr. McCarthy said Welch had no right so speak of cruelty, because he had been baiting Mr. Cohn for hours.

Mr. Welch turned to Mr. Cohn and asked, "I did you no personal injury?" "No," was the reply.

Mr. Welch then turned to Senator McCarthy: "Let's not assassinate this lad, Fred Fisher, further. Have you no sense of decency left? I will not discuss this further with you. Mr. Chairman, you may call the next witness."

There was applause for Mr. Welch. Even the press photographers applauded rather than taking pictures.

Joseph McCarthy did not understand what he had done wrong. Joseph McCarthy would never know what he had done wrong, but the TV viewers knew.